SOME NEW ROOKS.

The Faults of Our Political System It is a standing repreach to well-informed and thoughtful Americans that the peculfar structure, workings, and tendencies of our polity have not provoked such thorough analysis from any native hand as they received from De Torqueville. When, three years ago such mon as Mr. Adams, Mr. Winthrop, and

Mr. Evarts were called upon to review the events and lessons of a century, we looked to see the framework and the outcome of our civic institutions subjected to sharp scrutiny and tested by a sober comparison with other systems which have been elsewhere tried, or with such theories of administration as seemed at least enpuble of practical application. No such exhaustive and candid estimate was forthcoming, and we have remained indebted to a Frenchman and an Englishman for the most correct, discriminative, and luminous exposi-

tion of American institutions.

Of course, the English writer whom we have In mind is Mr. Bagehot, whose work on the English Constitution set forth with notable insight and precision the characteristic merits and the specific shortcomings of the Parliamentary and the Presidential methods. He teld that for a free people which has outgrown the limits of an inconsiderable city, the only conceivable type of polity is a representative government by discussion," and that for fubre experiments the sole practical choice by between the two exponents of that type in Engand and the United States. He neglected a third embodiment of the same general princible in the particular scheme devised for France or control, has been tried so often (not to dwell under M. Thiers and the Septennate, both because its stendinst efficiency had not been dem- France) as to render the exposure of us defects onstrated, and because it was designed to be and dangers almost superfluous. Men who are transitional, the election of the Chief Magis- brought young into the civil service, and who trate under the French Constitution being relegated after a brief interval to the people as in who are occupied for years in learning its the American model. He gave no space to the methods and regulations, and afterward discussion of hereditary despotism, which could never win the voluntary endorsement of a strings to trifling matters-will, inevitapeople accustomed to self-government; neither ald he think it useful or pertinent to describe that type of Casarism which purports to rest on the self-abnegation of the governed, but which never yet was knowingly ratified in advance. and has only bought or exterted a spurious sanction after the event. Undoubtedly Mr. Bagehot would have affirmed, with De Tocqueville, that a democratic society might be imagined where the forces of the nation would be more centralized than they are in the United States, for such is, in fact, the case in France and the South American republics. But he would never have concurred with the French publicist in holding it conceivable, in the light of historical precedent and of our acquaintance with human nature, that the majority of a a bureaueracy tend to under-government in self-governing nation, abdicating its power of control and repressing its instinct of equality, in point of quantity. The trained official learns should consent under any circumstances, or from any motive whatsoever, to invest a family or an individual with all the attributes of executive power. The idea of consent to such a proposition would have seemed to the hard English sense of Mr. Bagehot so wildly utopian that he would not have stayed to point out the fatal consequences which such a blunder would entail so long as society is not leavened from top to bottom with those altruistic sentiments in which Mr. Spencer finds a substitute for retigion. This quaint hypothesis of a national self-surrender to an all-accomplished and beneficent Casar, deliberately invoked, was probably thrown out by De Tocqueville in an hour of fantastic musing on the form of constitution suited to an earthly paradise, but it has often been made to do yeoman's service by M. Rouher and other stalwart champions of the paternal theory of government. Strange to say, Du Tocqueville's random suggestion, which seems to answer itself, is seriously propounded in an essay before us, which undertakes not only to mark the deficiencies of our existing polity. but to provide us in its stead with a brand new system in which the weil-known merits of knowledge evince a greater and more flexible oligarchism and Casarism are skilfully combined. Such is the keynote of a curious book published by the Harpers under the engaging

title of A True Republic, by ALBERT STICKNEY. We have called this a curious book, not only strange sign of the times, but because it exhibits, in no common degree, digested knowledge, throughout is clear, succinct, and logical, and if that the summits of could not well repudiate his conclusions. If secure the management of public affairs on definition of those principles, then we must agree with Mr. Stickney that all existing polities must be rejected as inadequate means to that end, provided, of course, a more efficient and practicable instrument can be devised, If we are prepared, moreover, to recognize such a preponerance of prompt and unerring judgment in the mass of the people, and of unswerving good faith and self-control among the depositaries of power, as the writer sees fit to postulate, then we might venture to nipotent Senate, made up of life legislators, But this, to be sure, is merely one reading of the old story, that given an ideal perfection of nominate the best possible governors, who, on their part, would be virtuous enough not to abuse their opportunities. Taking things as they are, we do not think that a scheme of government framed on these two assumptions. however ingenious and simple it may look on paper, is likely to provoke much public discussion, or to invite the study of practical statesmen. Such projects may amuse the leisure of men engaged in private callings, but the actual makers or menders of constitutions are apt to confine the exercise of their inventive faculty within the scope of measures that have some

by and and by at some of the features of the remarkable system which Mr. Stickney proposes for our edification, and which, inasmuch as it involves a sweeping subversion of our Constitution, as well as of all commonly received principles of representative the rubbish of office to the burning glass of government, he will find it necessary to commend, by argument or ractorie, to the Legislawhile we desire to notice that part of his essay which contains matter more substantial, and to point out how thoroughly worthy of respectful attention are his criticisms on the English Government and our own, considered in their structural and their dynamic arrangements.

In a chapter on Constitutional Royalty, the writer of this essay examines that relation of the House of Commons to the Executive Government, which is the specific peculiarity of the English Constitution, together with the administrative disturbance entailed by a change of Ministry, which he considers the capital objection to the system. He reminds us that the heads of the executive administration in Great Britain are not chosen with a view to their fitess for their special functions, but on acof their ability to mould the action of the Imperial Legislature. In short, to cite the writer's words, the War Minister, or the Foreign Secretary, is not selected with reference to his experience in military or diplomatic affairs, but he is "always a man taken from Parliament by Parliament for work Parliament. For keeping his executive office," he continues, "the Secretary depends on work to be done in Parliament, and there, it is certain, he will do his best This state of things Mr. Stickney deems entirely mischievous. Hethinks it is not enough have trained subordinates, who, in all mut-

order to get better work out of them, work better adjusted to new and unforseen emergencies, he would nominate for the Chief, not a man who should bring to his business a wide knowledge of large affairs, but one who had himself just graduated from the grooves of routine, and who would bring to duties exacting breadth and fecundity and spontanetty of intellect, a mind cramped by forms and saturated with the bureaueratic spirit. In a word, he would go further than the most uncompromising advocate of the Prussian system, setting a bureauerat not only in every ancillary post of the machine. We need not say that the outcome to such extremes, may be witnessed in China, where it has been carried out for many stagnant centuries. An equally instructive example is supplied by Prussia, where, as Mr. Bagehet has pointed out, the bureaucrats destroyed the usefulness of the administrative engine invented by Frederick the Great, and which, at the date and for the objects of its creation, was an admarable contrivance, by depriving it of elasticity, Nor is there much room to doubt that the same novel and difficult contingencies that may at any time arise, will, by more vis inerties, distorate and paralyze the well organized apparatus, ioned by Bismarck and Von Moltke on the plans sketched by Stein and Hardenburgh. Indeed, the bureaucratic form of government, which Mr. Stickney conceives to be the sole form constructed on "business principles," and which he would therefore perfect by eliminating the last vestige of outside interference on such instances as the Lower Empire and for years in applying these measuring bly, as Burke observed, learn to "think

substance of business not much more important than the forms of it." It was these trained public servants whom Mr. Stickney pronounces indispensable, and of whom a shrewd old writer said: "They are but the tailors of business; they cut the ciothes, but they do not find the body." And Mr. Bugehot has pointed out how commonly the professional bureaucrat comes to think the routine of his office not a means, but an end, and to imagine the elaborate machinery of which he forms a trivial part. and from which he borrows his petty dignity. to be a grand and achieved result, not a plastic and changeable instrument. Not only, he con tinues in a chapter devoted to this topic, does point of quality, but to over-government to despise the untrained public, and to think it his duty to expand as far as possible the scope of official intervention, rather than to leave the largest freedom to the energies of mankind. In fact. Mr. Bagehot goes so far as to roundly affirm that a skilled bureaucracy-that is to say, the ideal civil service, trained from early life to its special functions-is, though it arrogates the dignified semblance of a science, quite inconsistent with the true principles of the art

man of wide experience and high reputation. and must be esteemed quite competent to define business principles without assistance from men in other professions. He had remarked. he tells us, that commercial, or financial, or industrial success depends on a due mixture of special and non-special minds-of intellects, on the one hand, which attend to the means, and of those, on the other, which attend to the end. The success of the great joint stock banks of London and of European railways are cited as impressive examples of the advantages accruing from such an admixture. In these cases it is found that a Board of Directors, composed of men possessed of general rather than special

of business. Now, Mr. Bagehot was a business

capacity-more comprehensive insight into the wants of a commercial community-than the old-fashioned bankers on the one hand, or than engineers and traffic managers on the other. Obviously, too, the us cfuiness of minds accusbecause a serious advocacy of such atheory is a | temed to generalize, and to act upon various materials, will be augmented or contracted, according to their opportunities; that is to say, sound sense, and keen discernment in its ag- their position in the official hierarchy. They gressive criticism, coupled with a singular must not be, says Mr. Bagehot, at the want of circumspect and practicable sugges- bottom, or even balf way up, but tions in its constructive efforts. The reasoning at the top. He goes on to argue the various kinds we chose to accept certain premises inid down of business are like the tops of mounty the writer, and to exclude all others, we tains, much more alike than the footbills and the vales below, the fundamental principles of we concede that the sole object contemplated by | human action, like the primitive deposits of men who frame a scheme of government is to | geology upheaved in the mountain peaks, being everywhere much the same. It is only the business principles, and accept a particular | rich, variogated details of the lower slopes and levels that contrast so sharply with one another. It needs travelling, however, he contiques, to discover that the summits are the same, for those who live on one elevation believe their mountain wholly unlike all others. Applying this principle to parliamentary government. Mr. Bagehot does not hesitate to pronounce the intrusion from without upon a bureaucratic hierarchy of an exterior head, not mischievous at all, but, on the contrary, essential to the perfecconfide in Mr. Stickney's expedient of an om- tion of the service. It left to themselves, permanent officeholders become technical, selfabsorbed, self-multiplying, eager in seeming to do things, idle in real doing. The fit corrector human nature, we should be wise enough to of such errors is an extrinsic governor, who enn say to the standing sub-chief, skilled in the forms and pompous with the memories of his office, "Will you, sir, explain to me how such and such a regulation conduces to such and such an end? According to the natural view of things an applicant should state the whole of his wishes to one cierk on one paper; you make him say it to five cierts on five papers." Or "Does it not appear to you, sir, that the reason of this formality is extinct? When we were building wooden ships it was quite right to have such and such precautions against fire. but now that we are pudding fron ships, &c. Ac." Now, as Mr. Barchot reminds us, it It may be interesting, however, to glance only the head of an office that can get such questions answered and we may be tolerably sitre that a chief bred to routine would never man of general ability and various experience. not the man of specialized capacity, that "brings

Sense, Such is Mr. Bagehot's rejoinder to a propositures of three-fourths of our States. Mean- tion which Mr. Stickney seems to thing unanawerable, viz., that a great branch of the Government cannot be managed on business principles unless the head of it is a bureaucrat, trained in that particular department. Very likely the English writer had the United States. n mind when he added that the importance of a fresh mind at the focus of control is most momost. Thus a dead, inactive, agricultural country may be governed by an unalterable bureau for years and years, and yet no great harm ome of it. There is reason to believe that China did not retrograde much from the culminating point of its prosperity for some cenrate civil service that the world has seen. After the Grass-Roman bureauerney was perfected by Justinian and his successors, the process of disintegration in the Eastern Empire seems to have been sensibly arrested. There was a positive gain of cohesion, only it was the cohesion of a nummy, not of a living organism. So, too as we have said, the scheme devised by Frederick the Great answered well enough for Prussta during two generations, but it was instantly shivered. by e-diston with a progressive nation. In like manner, the French bureaucrats of the Second Empire managed to conseal their deficiencies in contests with States still more wedded to routing than their own, viz., Russia and Austria; but they were broken like reeds under ters calling for specific experience, can tend r | the abook of the new organization enforced | dient of a short term was adopted as a guarantee counsel to their superiors. He says these sub-ordinates may do mere routine work very well. prehensive views and original intellect. We Mr. Stickney would discard, on the ground that

oversight, and turned over to the permanent officials, will lose its power of adjustment, and e shattered by contact with a strange order of Compared with Germany, however, the United States is an eminently fluctuating. progressive, elastic country, and here, therefore, a bureaucratic system would be conspicu-

ously misplaced, and short-lived. Nothing here said can be construed as a defence of the principle of sweeping displacement of officeholders for political reasons. Those functionaries who have acquired exceptional experience and dexterity in particular the civil administration, but at the very centre of | duties would naturally be retained by any capable head of a department, and, as a matter of of the bureaucratic system, rigorously pushed | fact, they are retained to an extent sufficient to preserve the traditions and insure the smooth working of administration. They are retained for the same reason that some employees keep their places in a warehouse or factory, viz., be cause they have made themselves necessary. What merchant or manufacturer does not know the efficiency of a clerk or foreman would be impaired rather than improved by the knowledge that his position was secured not by the obvious interest of his employer, but by law? inflexible mass of bigoted officials amid the This notion that men acquire a species of vested right to go on doing Government work. merely because they do it well, is nothing more por less than a fundamental postulate of socialism, although our civil service reformers usually range themselves among the most zealous champions of capital. If they would adopt the principle in its length and breadth they would at least deserve the credit of consistency. As things are, the American people will not create a caste of officeholders merely on the ground that certain work might be a little better done for the brief period during which our political and economical conditions should happen to remain stationary, and thus postpone the need of readjusting the whole bureaucratic system. Nor will they waste much sympathy on the unlucky bureaucrat who is turned out of office at the end of four or eight years, or, as it may easily have chanced in the case of Republican partisans, at the end of twenty years, when they see every week and every day competent and faithful workingmen ejected from their places at the

In investigating the amount of power remaining to the Crown under the modern theory of the British Constitution Mr. Stickney shows more thorough acquaintance with recent parliamentary history than is commonly exhibited by American writers. It is true that the monarch's prerogative has not shrunk so utterly into a legal fletion as Mr. Bagehot was disposed to think, though the latter, it must be remembered, cites a number of acts calculated to arrest or derange the machinery of government, but which, according to precedent, the Queen might lawfully do. He insisted, however, that no Minister would dare to sanction them, because he would incur the penalty of impeachment, or at the least, of a change of government. The writer of this easny might have pointed out that, since Mr. Bagehot wrote, two events have revealed how far beyond the normal lines a British Minister may go without suffering either punishment. We refer to the abolition of purchase in the army by royal warrant under Mr. Gladstone's last administration, and to Lord Beaconsfield's introduction of an Indian expeditionary lores as a factor in European warfare—the last measure by the way, being analogous to that for incidents were not mentioned by Mr. Stickney because they would not help his case. In neither instance was the Prime Minister an exponent of the royal will in opposition to that of the people's representatives, but, on the contrary, was backed by a compact majority in the House of Commons. As to abolition by purchase. there is good reason to believe that the Queen shared the aversion to that measure entertained

by the House of Lords and by her cousin, the Commander-in-Chief. It is undeniable that Lord Palmerston was dismissed in 1852, because he did not choose to suffer the dictation of Prince Albert; but Mr. Stickney should have added that Palmerston soon came back again, under circumstances which practically settled the independence of Ministers, and relegated Stockmar's pupil to private life. It is a great mistake to suppose that the authority of the House of Commons has, since the last Reform bill, or had, for that matter, after the Reform bill of 1832, anything would be far more dangerous. It was the very virtues and abilities of the Prince Consort which cave bim a weight disproportioned to the rightful scope of his functions, and which quarter of a century which has since clapsed the House of Commons, resting on a far broader constituency, has become more exclusively and irrevocably the depositary of supreme power. Mr. Stickney, too, is strangely in error in affirming that, "this (Victoria's) is the very first relenin the history of the English monarchy when the will of the sovereign has submitted to the will of the Commons." He cannot, surely, have forgotten the ludierous collapse of William IV. when that half-drunken sailor undertook to have a will of his own, or the sly subservience with which George IV., when Regent ignored his Whig vaporings, and tamely bent himself to the volition of a parliamentary ma-To Mr. Stickney's query whether jority. "the King of England may henceforward, in the selection of Cabinet Ministers, at any time, under any considerable circumstances. use his own will," we answer never except in the interval between the dissolution of one Parliament and the convocation of another We need not waste time in inquiring whether this is the best possible scheme of Govern ment, but we do not hesitate to say that this is the British Constitution as it exists to-day. As to the case supposed by the writer of this essay, where England should be engaged in a great war for existence, and where the one man capable of managing the War Office should be forced to go out, owing to some outside bing der committed by a colleague-even in this juncture, we repeat, there would be, in proittle harm done. For either this great War Minister would have the confidence of the nation or he would not. In the former instance the rown would be compelled to ask him to form a new Cabinet, as it was obliged to ask Chathan and Palmerston. And, in the latter instance, it is better to put up with inferior enpacity is office than to sacrifice the independence which is alone worth fighting for by tolerating the inposition of a Minister whose great abilities have of availed to disarm the aversion and distrust of his fellow citizens. In 1640 there was no problem so difficult and orgent as the management of Ireland, and there was no man in Eng land so fit to solve it as was Strafford. will deny that Pym and the other leaders of the country party were not well counselled in denouncing the appointment of Charles Stuart's Bismarck long before the latter perpetrated an

overt act of treason? Let us see now what the author of this book has to say touching our own political system. This we find scanned in a chapter whose tenor s suggested by the title, "False Republicanism -The Tyranny of Party." The writer begins by affirming, accurately enough, that the enpir. alm kept in view by the framers of our Constitution was that no man should hold nower which ennest be taken from him. As we have said, this statement is substantially correct, al though, of course, judicial appointments were to be for life, and, in general, it may be noted that those men, who were afterward to be cor spicuous as Federalists, favored, in the severa onventions, longer terms of office than those ultimately fixed by the organic law. No manin public life, however, at that time or since, has ventured to seriously propound to the American people such a centralized, bureaucratic, and irresponsible government as the scheme which Mr. Stickney naively lays before us. To that however, we shall come presently. The expe but he tacitly confesses that this sort of capacity are justified by experience in expecting that does not fill the measure of requirement in even the tremendous machinery contrived by ish, lacking at once the means of subsistence their official head. Xet, curiously enough, in | Biamarck, once deprived of its constructor's | and the prizes of struggle, In our method of | skilled labor espect bave too wide a range, | sible to every one.

government by parties, he finds the main root of the faults and abuses in our political system. No doubt the inconveniences and mischiefs of parties are sufficiently familiar to the student of events, but perhaps they cannot be too often or too sternly branded in the hope of in-structing and purifying public opinion. The remedy thus invoked is by no means so fruitless as the advocates of more heroic treatent would pretend. All who know much of affairs are aware that the bribing of Congressmen was well nigh done away with by the Credit Mobilier exposure, and the writer of this essay has observed, though he does not attribute the phenomenon to the true cause, that the purchase of votes in the House of Commons, which was so common in the last century, has entirely disappeared. It was nothing but an enlightned and invigorated public opinion which killed that practice and which in later times. has checked the more shameless uses of money at the polls. The same omnipotent censor may be trusted in a free country to gradually eliminate the other evils which encrust the instruments of political activity, and among them the great driving wheel of party. That parties are indispensable to the working of the administrative machinery in a democratic State seems conclusively demenstrated by historical experiments, the few apparent exceptions having occurred under cumstances so anomalous and for periods so brief as to render close scrutiny superfluous. Being thus essential, the party system can only not rid of by destroying what most of us esteem a vital safeguard of a republic, and that Mr. Stickney does not hesitate to do. Perceiving that parties are kept alive by the prospect of office opened by short terms-which were designed to insure the people's control over their servants, and which, in spite of the proional politicians, do unquestionably attain that end-he proposes to sweep away this substantial guarantee, and to elect all executive officers, from the highest to the lowest, together with the members of the Federal Legislature, not for a term of years, but for their lives. In this way he would indisputably extinguish party, but what would become of the popular interest in public affairs? What share, or what practical concern in the government of his country would accrue, under such a system, to the plain, average citizen, who has no kope of being chosen to the higher executive posts, or to the national legislature- who is hopelessly cut off from the lower administrative who merely would be called upon twice or thrice in his lifetime to exercise the suffrage? Mr. Stickney thinks it a grievous thing that our existing party system should tend to exclude from office a few college-bred men in Boston and in New York. In the first place, we deny the fact, provided the college graduate has anything in his head beyond some faint reminiscences of half a dozen Latin and Greek authors, or the spoils of vagrant research in the unsystematized and unpruned accumulations of English law. But were the case as it is affirmed to be we can assure Mr. Stickney that the state of things would be infinitely more reproachful and baneful to the commonwealth which should tend to drive from the palls not a few hundred smatterers, the solf-satisfied victims of a mediaval education, but the great mass of the people, the very bone and sinew of the land. The supreme aim of free government is not that the best men should share in it. which Strafford was attainted. Probably these | but that all men should share in it. And here we may commend to the writer the French say ing which he has quoted for a very different purpose, viz.: "There is somebody shrewder than Tolleyrand, abler than Napoleon-and that

is everybody." We may mark now very briefly some of the features in Mr. Stickney's extraordinary scheme, which, in one aspect, might be not unfairly characterized as bureaucracy gone mad. In what he artlessly denominates a "True Republic," he would appoint, it seems, all executive officers, from the weighers and gaugers in a Custom-House to the heads of the Cabinet, and the Chief Magistrate himself, not for a stated term, but for their lives. Of course he concedes a power of removal for misconduct or incompe tence, which is nominally vested for each subrdinate in his own immediate chief, but which, of course, would be tantamount in practice to conferring the mastership of the whole administrative machine upon the President as the fountain head of authority. The writer would to fear from a bad monarch. A good man have the President, however, subject also to removal for mulfeasance in office-but how? By a two-thirds vote of a national legislature, each member of which is unnecountable and irremovable, except by the improbable did, for a brief period, subject the flat of his fellow oligarchs. At long authentic theory of the British Consti- and irregular intervals, when a President tution to a considerable strain. In the died, or ventured to dely the majority of the life legislators, the people would be graciously permitted to vote for a candidate who, in all human likelihood, would be nominated, and pushed with all the appliances now stigmatized in our party system, by the permanent Congress. So, too, when a member of the irresponsible Council chanced to die the electors would be suffered to record their assent to the nomination of a successor. These fitful and perfunctory appeals to the popular will would ontinue just so long as it seemed worth while to the exclusive arbiters of legislation and the virtual overseers of executive power to renew a farcical and superfluous ceremony. But what need to dwell on the inevitable outcome from a chamber of life peers abandoned to their own control in the law-making function, and endowed with means of irresitible control over all other oranches of the Government. There is nothing new in the scheme-the only novelty is the ober propounding of it in the nineteenth century. Alike in its dynamic elements and the antinal portions of its structure, it does not differ appreciably from systems whose results constitute the most impressive warnings of hisory. We seem to recognize Mr. Stickney's irresponsible, omnipotent legislators in the sphors of Sparta, in the Carthaginian Senate: and in that notorious Council, whose committees and sub-committees encompassed the body litic with their myrind tentacles, and sucked the life blood from the Venetian State. If this is the type of polity which commends itself to ege graduates, can we marvel that their

is inclype of pointy which commends itself to coolege granduates, can we marvel that their political aspirations are somewhat coldly viewed by the American people?

One word as to another feature of Mr. Stickney's scheme, He is not content with confiding to his life Senators all the legislative competence now vested in both Houses of Congress, together with a virtual control of the Executive, but he would expand much further the scope of their authority. He would abridge the functions reserved to the several States by our present Constitution, and transfer them to the absorbent central power. So, too, the States courts would gradually be displaced by Federal tribunals. The author dwells on the great advantage which would result from having only one set of judicial officers. Unleast the preclais economies which would result from having only one set of judicial officers. Unleast the preclais economies which would result from having only one set of judicial officers. Unleast the preclais economies which would result from having only one set of judicial officers. Unleast the preclais economies which would result from having only one set of judicial officers. Unleast the preclais economies which would result from having only one set of judicial officers. Unleast the preclais economies which would result from having only one set of judicial officers. Unleast the preclais economies which would result from having only one set of judicial officers. Unleast the preclais economies which would result from having only one set of judicial officers. Unleast the preclais economies which would result from having only one set of judicial officers. Unleast the preclais economies which would result from having only one set of judicial officers. Unleast the preclais economies which would result from having only one set of judicial officers. Unleast the preclaim for writer of this essay considers the most compart, inquisitive, and rigorous controlization an n-dispersable element of a "True Republic." Local liberties, which most students of politics rave accounted the soundest guarantees of national freedom, and whose absence has exposed to such grave hazard the Liberal ause in France, he would brush aside as aconvenient, obsolete, and futile. Nowthere snothing surprising in the fact that the partisan of a bureaucracy should secretly favor centralizing policy. Those who fancy official business can only be transacted by a permaent, trained functionary, are not to think such

But the candor and simplicity with which Mr. Stickney avows his extreme conclusions are cer tainly phenomenal. It suggests that his intellect has been slightly warped by the Bismarck craze, and we are inclined to deem this form of cerebral disorder not the least melancholy result of the questionable triumph, which has postponed the liberties of Germany for a generation, and which has roused a reactionist

propaganda throughout the world It is true enough, as the author says, that our Constitution had no sacredness in the eyes of its creators. They viewed it in the homely light of a compromise and an experiment. They knew it would need mending. It has repentedly been mended. It is not perfect yet, and he would be a rash speculator who should venture to predict what changes it may undergo or what shape it will not take. But one thing we may affice with considerable assurancethat, however discontented and eager for reform, the people of this country will not spend much time over the political system which Mr. Stickney has projected. M. W. H.

A Manual on Muscular Development. But few persons possess a body perfectly symmetrical or well developed in every direction, and the community can be roughly divided in the main into two classes: the wholly weak and those having one particular set of muscles developed at the expense of all the others. And the importance of any course of training or system of exercise which results, or even tends to result in the transfer of one from either of these two classes to the company of the few who are physically perfect, should not be overlooked. It is therefore with pleasure that we have read a little book lately published by Harper & Brothers, entitled Hose to Get Strong, and written by WILLIAM BLAIKIE, the voteran college oarsman and authority on

athletics. It is full of valuable auggestion and advice, and coming, as it does, from one who has devoted years of thought and work to the problem of physical education, and is a living exponent of the success of his theories thereon, the book carries with it the weight of tried experi-

The author was in his time at Harvard the leading oarsman, and it was largely due to his energy and exertion that rowing on the Charles was revived and Harvard was enabled to take once more the lead on Lake Quinsigamond. His views, therefore, on what is too apt to be the functions by a stringent civil service inw-and | product of four years of rowing fi not tempered or aided by other forms of exercise, derived as they must have been from observation, are of rare value. And on this subject he says:

they must have been from observation, are of rare value. And on this subject he says:

The years roll by till the whole four are over and our student is about to graduate. He looks back to see what he has accomplished. In physical matters he fluds that while he is a skilful and pertups a decidedly successful our, and that some of his measurements have much improved since the day he was first measured, others somehow have not come up nearly as fast; in fact, have held back in the most surprising way. His chest girth may be three, or even four, inches larger for the four years' work. Some, if not much, of that is certainly the result of growth, not development, and, save what running did, the rest is rather an increase of the back muscles than of front and back slike. Strong as his back is, still he has not yet a thoroughly developed and capacious chest. Doubtless his leas have improved, if he has done any running. His calves have come to be well developed and shapely, and so, too, have his thighs, while his ions are noticeably strong looking and well muscled up, and so, indeed, is his whole back. But if he has done paractically no other arm work than that which rowing, and the preparation for it, enlied for, his arms are not so large, especially above the elbow, as they ought to be for a man with such legs and such a back. The front of his chest is not nearly so well developed as his back, perhaps is hardly developed at all, and he is very likely to carry himself inerectly, with heal and neck canted somewhat forward, while there is a lack of fallness, often a noticeable bollowness, of the upper chest, till the shoulders are plainly warped and rounded forward.

Thus it would seem that rowing pure and simple—without, by vigorous exercise of other

Thus it would seem that rowing pure and simple-without, by vigorous exercise of other kinds, guarding against its tendency to abnormaily develop the large back muscles-makes a man less fit than his fellows for the wear and tear of life in after years.

The following extracts illustrate the extremely interesting character of the chapters in this

little work on women: That the same vigorous exercise and training That the same vigorous exercise and training which brought form womanly physical beauty in ancient days will bring it out now, there need be no manner of doubt. "The study and practice of gymnastics are to be made compulsory in all the State schools in Italy. The apositio of physical culture in that enervating climate is Schostian Fenzi, the son of a Florence banker. "He has preached gymnastics to Senators and Deputies to the syndic and municipal Councillors, and even to the Crown Primers, now Queen. He especially inculcates its advantages on all mothers of families as likely to increase to a remarkable extentiles and control of the syndicates. enleates its indvantages on all mothers of families as likely to increase to a remarkable extent the personal charms of their daughters. And so far as his own domestic experience goes, his theories have not been contradicted by practice, for he is the father of the most beautiful women in Italy.

The writer ence saw a woman, apparently about 28, a handsome, virorous, resy English woman, row her father from Pathey to Mort-

about 28, a handsome vizorous, rosy English woman, row her father from Putney to Mortlake, on the Thames, a distance of four miles and three furiongs not at racing pace to be sure, but at a lively speed. The measured precision of that lady's stroke, the stately poise of the body and head, and the clean, heat, and effective feathering would have done credit to an old Oxford oar.

American boxs. Manufactured.

American boys, Mr. Blaikle thinks, are, as a rule, lanky and half-built, and compare unfavorably with lads of the same age in England or Germany. This is from lack of proper instruction or guidance, and much stress is laid on the essential importance of having in our large college gymnasiums instructors who are educated gentlemen, like either Prof. Maciaren or Dr. Sargent, and not men who are mere janitors. And in this connection he points out the fact that a commodious shed, fitted up with simple but the most useful apparatus, charge of a competent director, would be of greater utility than a magnificent gymnasiumlike that now being erected at Cambridge through the generosity of young Mr. Hemenway-without such an instructor. We are clad learn from a private source that since the publication of this book, its author has been applied to by the authorities at Harvard to aid in the designation or choice of a competent director for their new gymnasium.

In his chapter on "Some Results of Systematic Exercise," Mr. Biaikie gives the following curious statistics from the experience of Prof. Maclaren:

The author approves strongly of the use of

parallel bars, rowing weights, pulley weights, dumb-bells, and Indian clubs. He dwells with especial force on the value and feasibility of exercise at home, and tells us how to construct a home gymnasium, even in one's own room. at a trifling expense. He shows us that the means of bringing out the dormant muscular power are within the reach of the poorest man. The concluding chapters, in which practical

instruction is given as to exercise specially adapted to develop the various sets of muscles. are among the most valuable in the book, and they make it a very complete manual, intelliWHAT GOING TO LAW COSTS IN ENG-LAND.

A measure introduced by the British Government during the late session of Parliament contemplates a practical and sweeping reform. in the administration of justice. At present the judicial determination of causes is neither local, speedy, nor cheap, and it is proposed to secure improvement in these respects by extend-ing the jurisdiction of county courts from \$250 to \$1,000, and by allowing plaintiffs to commence suits for still larger amounts before these The discussion produced by this projected innovation has brought to light the outrageous cost and abuses of the present system, which operates to deter poor men from seeking legal redress at all. Few persons in this country have any idea of

the complicated, protracted, and expensive process by which disputed claims are litigated in England. Unless the amount at stake is very large, success in a civil action is likely to prove a money loss. Thus, where a verdict as re-ported carries \$500 damages, the victorious party is commonly out of pocket. This hap-pens not only where lawyers are dishonest or extortionate, but where the charges are pronounced legitir ate. The state of things may be illustrated by the interesting case of the Hour newspaper which, after being defeated in an action for libel and obliged to pay a hundred guineas together with the plaintiff's costs, printed in full their opponent's bill of expenses, Now, although some deductions were from these charges, as we shall see, each transaction seems to have been considered perfectly honest, and was entirely sanctioned by professional opinion. The peculiar force of this example consists, therefore, in its application to the most respectable members in both branches of the profession. It appears that the cause was never tried, but

settled by agreement, Nevertheless, the bill sent in reached the astonishing amount of \$7,960. The defendants insisted that the bill should be taxed, and it was finally reduced to \$6,810. Even this total was monstrous enough, and it is worth while to glance at some of the items enumerated. We learn that barristers were consulted and feed for the most trivial things, including the "settling" of a letter which the attorney wrote to the defendant. In this action, which extended over little more than two months, and never came to trial, no less than three barristers were retained on the plaintiff's side, the junior counsel getting \$990. in thirty-eight different fees, and the two senior counsel \$970 and \$1,235, for occasional opinions. Out of all these charges, aggregating nearly \$3,200, only one fee of \$6.50 was taxed off the junior counsel's pay. We may note here that one of the senior counsel in this case, Sir John Holker, was the man who, in the House of Commons, not long ago, lectured the colliers on their not being satisfied with \$5 a week wages. If we turn from the sums paid barristers to the attorney's bill, we flud, of course, that every visit and every letter is charged for. Moreover, \$1,050 is set down for a single item, and the attorney who taxed the bill would only reduce this charge by one-half. Now, we must bear in mind that these were only the plaintiff's costs. and that the defendant's expenditure, for his own attorneys and counsel, is not published. Supposing his outlay to have been on an equal scale, the cost of litigating this action, where the damages as settled by a compromise were only \$500, must have exceeded \$13,000. The methods by which respectable attorneys

contrive to aggravate the burden of litigation are said to be especially conspicuous in cases where they are retained to prosecute or defend trade societies. Their conduct in such instances has lately been described by the Contemporary Review as nothing less than a wilful plundering of the working classes. The situation of men accused of offences under the labor iaws is abused by the attorneys to multiply expenses and wring costs out of their victims. One of their expedients is to make the accused 'sever" in their defence, which of course means that each prisoner must have separate counsel and separate briefs. This is repeatedly done when one barrister for all would have

It is obvious that neither attorners nor barris-

ters are likely to favor a scheme of cheap, local, and efficient justice. Notwithstanding how-ever, all the obstructions which they could interpose, the county courts were organized about thirty years ago, and, as we have said, their field of usefulness is about to be signally enlarged. At first their powers were carefully circumscribed by the Legislature. They had only a common law jurisdiction, and no claim for debt or damage above \$100 could be tried. This limit was extended, however, in 1830 to \$250, and other statutes were subsequently passed expanding their jurisdiction in various ways. In 1868, when the last of these statutes took effect, the number of writs issued in the Superior Courts of common law at Westminster Hall declined from about 128,000 to 83,000, and in 1870 fell still further, to 72,000. By the new measure, which receives the support of the Government, all causes involving no more that \$1,000 must be tried in the County Court, and t is optional with the plaintiff to begin actions of any magnitude in the same forum This is a long step toward the sanction of the principle laid down by all earnest law reformers in England, viz., that the County Court should be made the basis of the whole judicial system, and that every action irrespective of its nature, or the amount of interests involved. should be there begun, and only transferred up in proper cause shown, to a superior tri-In some districts where the magistrates are

well selected and duly qualified it appears that the County Court already monopolizes almost all the litigated business. Indeed, it is seldom held without instances occurring where a plaintiff gives up some portion of the money due him, so as to bring his claim below \$250, and thus recover the debt there. Besides the experience of the county courts, the advocates of judicial reform in England can point to another exemplary success, viz., the cheap justice administered by stipendiary magistrates under the Employers' and Workmen's act. Here the jurisdiction is limited to claims for wages involving \$50. Nevertheless, it is common to find reported important decisions settling perhare a whole series of cases, yet in which the costs amounted to no more than seven or eight shillings. It is natural that the rest of the community should wish to see extended to themselves the cheap and speedy means of litigation | the back. That of King Brian Born, killed in afforded to employers and workmen.

It is certain that the County Court system has acquired great popularity and stability in England since its creation thirty years ago. It has entailed already a notable improvement in the qualifications of county magistrates, and, of ourse, an enlarged jurisdiction will emphasize the necessity of securing experienced and competent men upon the bench. Moreover, the habit of restoring to local tribunals for legal redress carries with it a political advantage of capital moment. It will serve to keep alive the spirit of local independence, and to el centralizing forces which of late years have noquired such dangerous momentum in Great Britain.

The Call of the Cuckoo.

From the Curuhill Magazine. We heard it calling, sweet and low.
That tender April morn, we shoul
And listened in the quer word,
We heard it, aye, some time ago.

It came, and with a strange, sweeters, A treend, and from a carsoft band; We streed and indeed band in cand, and heart to heart, my love and t.

In dream land then we cound our my.
And so it we used as "tweet the hird
That Helen in oid traveline iterial
At moon beneath the case of roy.

Oh, time far off and yet so hear!
It came to her in that his hed grows.
It washed white the wisding throws.
It sain the soin all heart to hear.

Aye, sweet it is to hear and need. The Wigord of the Women's enting;

To love the bys that books pend.

And now I hear its voice sents,
And still its meanure is of peace,
Of trusted days of still overcase.
It sings of love that will not connot cense-

FREDERICS LOCKER.

THE ITINERANT SCHOOLS OF RUSSIA

Some English and German journals insist not only that the political system of Russia is falling to pieces, but also that the Russian people are far gone in degeneration—the upper lasses in consequence of their own corruption and the peasants because of the recurring epidemies, the chronic pauperism and ignorance There is no doubt that the Czar's Government and the privileged classes are in a bad way But these outside critics know very little about the Russian people, and especially the peasantry

Though ninety per cent, of them are illiterate the pensantry fully appreciate the value of knowledge, and a peasant who is able to read and write is looked upon by his neighbors as superior being. If, besides that, he is initiated in the mysteries of arithmetic he is a sage. There are vilinge schools, to be sure, but as a rule they are above the means of the village population; and, being conducted by teachers appointed by the Government, they are usuall looked upon by the peasants as part and parcel of the system of oppression.

But, besides these schools, there are the socalled "itinerant schools," established by the peasants themselves, on their own initiative, and conducted on a curiously original plan.

The origin of the first itinerant school in Russia was after this wise: In the hamlet of New Village, of the province of Tulsk, there was no school, nor could money be raised for one. The need of it was keenly felt. In the same vilinge there was a peasant boy. Zvereff, 15 years old, who had lately returned from a village school, and who, just for fun, as it was said, began to teach half a dozen of the village children. The fun of the bright boy proved more serious than play. To the amazement of the simple vilingers, his pupils soon began to read and write. Then the people of New Village, in the Mir (town meeting), unanimously decided to engage the lad to go on with his experiment of teaching on a larger scale. They agreed to pay him a salary of two roubles per month, and decided that he should board round on the ancient New England plan, and should

receive and teach his pupils in their houses, This first school was a perfect success, and its moral and social influence can hardly be over estimated. In a plain, dark, one-roomed shanty were assembled over a score of peasant children, boys and girls, seated on plain boards; before them stood their boy teacher, dressed, like his pupils, in the national costume. The puptls engerly followed every word of this lad, who only yesterday was their playmate. There was not a trace of the official school routine Around this improvised school was often seen a throng of grown peasants; they even crowded into the school room, anxious to witness the delightful picture. Gray-bearded men, and women old and young hushing babies in their arms, stood for hours in respectful silence, looking lovingly on the teacher and his pupils. Even the members of the privileged class importance of the new departure. It is reported that on one occasion an old peasant, about 90 years of age, having heard of the new school, took his stick and went to see it. The scene moved the heart of the old man so much that he could not restrain his tears. In a trembling voice he repeated aloud those significant words "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word; for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation, which Thou hast prepared before the face of all people." The men and women wept with the old man, and the children wondered what their elders were cry-

ing about. When the day's work is dope and the pupils have gone home, the teacher eats bread and salt with the family whose guest he is for the time being. In the evening, while the members of the family are working by the light of a firsplint, the teacher either helps them, or, as happens oftener, is requested to tell them what he knows of other countries, of the nations that live far beyond the sea, of the animals that never have been seen in Russia; in a word, be has a fair chance to air all his scanty store of

information. The example of the New Village itinerant school soon found imitators in the other villages, and now there are many schools in different places conducted on the same plan. Being pre eminently schools of the people, for the people, and by the people, they are the dawn of a new era in the life of the peasantry, and a forerunger of free government.

IRISH MUSIC.

The Organization of an Amateur Orchestra for Singing the Old Songs.

In connection with the Society for th Preservation of the Irish Language, the Irish Choral Union for singing Irish songs was established three months ago, and an amateur orchestra for rendering old Irish music has just en organized.

Interest in ancient and mediaval Irish musiincluding the airs of Carolan, who lived in the early part of the inst century, was revived at a meeting in Belfast in 1792 of the old class of harpers represented by Denis Rempson, Arthur O'Neill, Charles Fanning, Daniel Black, Chas, Byrne, Hugh Higgins, Patrick Quine, William Carr, Rose Mooney, and James Duncan, who were all that were left of the class in Ireland. Hempson was the only one who could give the aboriginal music of the country, as played in Tarn's Halls before St. Patrick in the fifth century, and touched his harp with very long and curved finger pails, according to ancient custom. The Irish Harp Society was established soon after this meeting. It has a collection of about 150 ancient and medieval nirs. The first class were dirges and solemn tunes to which the poems of Ossian were sung; the two latter were generally quick and cheerful. They were handed down orally from geteration to generation, but were also preserved in the Ozham characters used by the Druids After the modern musical annotation came into vogue in the middle ages they were transferred to it, but many that had been collected by Carolan were burned in Belfast in the lifetime of that composer. Spenser in his "Views of the State of Ireland" says in his quaint

English of the Irish airs: Yes, truely, I have caused divers of them to translated unto me, and surely they savered translated onto me, and surely they savered sweet wit and grood invention, but skilled at of the growing remember of poster; yet they are sprinkled with some pretty flawers of ear natural device which gave good grace and melinesse unto them."

The Irish harp was about four feet high. It was without pedals, and was earried slung to the battle of Clontarf, in 1014, still exists in the Museum of Trinity College, Dublin. It is black with age, and polished, but now wormeaten with age, and polished, but now wormsaten, and is adorated with silver ornaments. It was taken by his son Tengue to Rome after the battle, and presented to the Pope, with the ers was annother regular. A succeeding Pope grescuted it to Henry VIII., with the title of Perference of the Pouth, and Henry gave to be first Earl of Counterance, in whose family twas held until the beginning of the eighteenheet curv. It then peasad through several hands until 1786, when the college became its owner. The new secrety in this city with an easily the barp. Its instruments will be modern and varied.

THE INSPECTORS OF ELECTION. No Longer any Restriction upon the Commissioners of Police.

Judge Westbrook has vacated, of his own motion, so much of the order granted on Fridar in reference to the appointment of Inspectors of Election as restrained the Police Commissioners from acting in the matter until after the decision of the General Term on Monday. Judge Westler on said that the original order presented to him asked for the issuance of a Term. He was newtring a test to great and course in the matter and the second at Special Term. He was newtring a district great and color in the matter and these test neather sold great should great should be order and he being the control Judge them setting a Special Term, in made the order and testing a first should be ordered and the second Judge them setting a Special Term, by only Judge then Siling of Special Ter-made he of terto show conserverand of the General Term instead of a Special before homes, largues the former by Wear though how to be the missing In his currently require appear when the to have been at the street when the I Inspectors of Enection should be appointed.